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Shanghai Municipal Police.

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CENTRAL

POLICE

Station.

April

17

1921

REPORT ON The Bolshevist Movement as seen from Shanghai
since January 1, 1921.

Made by

D. S. I. Sullivan

Forwarded by Director of Criminal Intelligence

Sir,

The decision arrived at by the Chinese Government in September last to cancel the extraterritorial rights of Russians and the consequent loss of authority by the Russian Consul-General, together with the increase in the numbers of Russians coming to Shanghai has made it increasingly difficult to follow the activities of people connected with Bolshevism.

In September 1920 a delegation from the Russian Far Eastern Government headed by a man named Yourin arrived in Peking. Since their arrival the members of the delegation have been endeavouring to conclude a trade agreement between China and Soviet Russia and to get the Chita Government officially recognized but, so far, without success.

It is thought by anti-Bolshevik Russians that the members of the Yourin mission are also in China for the purpose of spreading their Bolshevistic doctrine and also to discover who the leading anti-Bolsheviks in China are.

It would be difficult for a foreigner to carry on open propaganda in China without quickly becoming known to the Chinese Authorities. There is a rumour, however, that Chinese emissaries are being sent from Moscow over the Manchurian border into China but so far as can be ascertained none of these has turned up in Shanghai.

As to what success they are having amongst the Chinese population it must be remembered that the vast majority of the people, including the soldiers and police, are illiterate, so that propaganda in the form of literature is

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not of much use. The visiting of teashops, theatres, and other public places and expounding a doctrine is so public and so easily detected that the Chinese Authorities would not have much difficulty in putting it down. Bolshevik and Socialist literature is believed to be circulated rather extensively amongst the students in Peking and in the treaty ports and it is this class of the population which would most easily become imbued with Bolshevik ideas. In this connection it may be noted that in February last a book store in the French Concession was raided by the French Police and several volumes of half a dozen socialist books by various authors of various nationalities were seized. It may also be noted that during the last three years forty six different volumes of socialistic Communistic and Bolshevik books, periodicals, etc. have come into the hands of the Police. However, the fact that most of the colleges are in or near the treaty ports where police supervision is strictest, renders the open circulation of this class of literature very difficult and if the Post Office censorship were strictly enforced it would be almost impossible.

A notorious Russian propagandist named Stopany who taught Chinese students the Esperanto language and at the same time is believed to have instilled Bolshevik ideas into their minds, committed suicide last month.

There was a suspicion that Chinese Bolsheviks would organize a demonstration during the recent Chinese New Year

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holidays, but it came to nothing.

Some of the leaders of the Southern Government are credited with holding Bolshevik opinions and the recent utterances of one Chen To Seu (陳獨秀), Minister of Education in that party, and formerly a professor at Peking University, who has been preaching the doctrine of free love and deriding the belief in filial piety, a belief which the Chinese have held from time immemorial, proves that he at any rate is helping the Bolshevik cause. He, however, is a man who is generally discredited and by none more than the Cantonese in Shanghai, and it is thought that he, like most of the Southern leaders, having forfeited the trust of the educated and middle class people, is now endeavouring by these means to enlist a following from amongst the very poor and very ignorant, but it is believed that the people of Kwangtung province generally are showing a decided objection to Bolshevism.

Amongst the various trade societies which have been formed in Shanghai recently there are no doubt some of the leaders who have extreme ideas, but as long as the Chinese Authorities can ensure a plentiful supply of rice at a reasonable price there is reason to believe that the innate customs and characteristic of the Chinese people would prevent them ever becoming militant Bolsheviks.

I am, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

J. Sullivan
D. S. I.

D. C. I.

Shanghai Municipal Police.

CENTRAL POLICE Station.

April 17 1921

REPORT ON Political situation as seen from Shanghai since
January 1 1921.

Made by D. S. I. Sullivan

Forwarded by Director of Criminal Intelligence

Sir,

Despite changes which have taken place in the Southern Government, and a Presidential Mandate issued in October 1920 declaring the unification of the North and South peace seems to be almost as far off as ever.

Since the late Li Shun, Tuchun of Kiangsu, committed suicide in October 1920 a short time after his appointment as Northern Peace Delegate in succession to Wang Ih Tang (王揖唐) who gave up his post in August 1920 after the defeat of the Anfu Party by the Chilites, no formal meetings between representatives of the Central and Southern Governments have been held.

The latest development in Canton is the election of Dr. Sun Yat-sen as President of the so-called Southern Republic and in this many people, including influential Cantonese, see hope of a cessation of hostilities on the part of the Southerners, as there is a belief amongst a large part of the Cantonese Party that Dr. Sun's policy will eventually result in the breakup of the Cantonese movement. Of the five other provinces which formerly belonged to the Southern Military Government, Kwangsi has definitely declared its allegiance to the Central Government, and it appears as if the election of Dr. Sun will make Hunan, Yunnan, Kweichow and Szechuen leave the Southern group.

The accession of Dr. Sun to the Presidency did not meet with the approval of a majority of the ex-M. P.s many of whom are leaving Canton for Shanghai.

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There is little doubt that the Southern Party are desperately in want of money and since the Diplomatic Corps in Peking have refused to grant them a share of the Customs Surplus, and, owing to Dr. Sun's exploiting of the two principal sources of revenue to wit the mint and the railways, both have ceased to work, so that there is not much prospect of the financial situation there being remedied.

The Southern Army is declared to be formed largely of bandits and robbers, and taken altogether the inhabitants are believed to be tired of the continued unsettled state of the province and many believe that Dr. Sun will be forced to leave Canton eventually. Should this happen and the Southern Army be disbanded in consequence, some of the disbanded soldiers will no doubt come north and a resuscitation of armed robberies and crimes of violence may be expected in Shanghai.

The activities of Baron Ungern's army in Northern Mongolia where, acting in conjunction with Mongols, the capital town, Urga, has been occupied, although directed against the Bolshevistic Far Eastern Republican Government, whose headquarters are at Chita, is causing much anxiety to the Central Government who are being continually bombarded with telegrams etc. urging that the Russians be driven out of Mongolia. There appears now to be a good prospect of the Central Government and the Mongolian Government settling their differences and the latter may then be able to recover

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the territory from Ungern's forces.

The doubt in North China and rumours which have been current recently that some able soldiers and politicians are planning to restore the monarchy, together with Bolshevist activities all over the country all combine to increase the difficulties of the Central Government, and incidentally to upset business and cause unrest and unemployment in Shanghai. The Central Government is also very short of funds, though not ^{in such a degree} ~~so much so~~ as their opponents in the South, and the strike of professors and educationalists in Peking is purely a result of not receiving their salaries and money for the expenses of the universities.

The Central Government, however, although hard put to it to raise funds, appear to be desirous of falling in with the interests of business people as far as possible, as exemplified by the cancellation of the suggested Customs surtax for famine relief on condition that an agreed sum was raised by voluntary contribution, and of the suggested Stamp Duty in the Foreign Settlements.

There seems to be very little grounds for the rumour that an attempted restoration of the monarchy was contemplated and a well known Monarchist, who was believed to be taking part in the restoration, has privately given it as his opinion that the people ~~in~~ of China are not yet sufficiently tired of the Republic to attempt to restore a monarchical form of government.

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The anti-Japanese agitation has almost entirely disappeared owing, no doubt, to more recent important happenings and there is every prospect of the Shantung question being finally settled in a constitutional way.

After the victory of the Chili over the Anfu Party, a suggestion, the credit for conceiving which is given to General Wu Pae Fu (吳佩孚), was put forward for the summoning of a National Citizens Convention to arrange for the establishment of democratic government in China and the restoration of internal peace. Opinions were divided as to the advisability of this course. Those favouring it argued that it would eliminate militarism and ensure popular rule, while those opposed claimed that ^{the} mass of people are too ignorant of Republicanism to take any part in the Convention.

Eventually the National Citizens Convention Organization was formed to which several powerful local societies and guilds became affiliated, but other local societies including the Students Unions opposed it with the result that although the first few meetings of the Organization were very enthusiastic it has now become practically dormant.

The peacefulness of otherwise of this part of the country depends to a considerable extent on the maintenance of a plentiful supply of rice, and if the Central Government and local Chinese Authorities would use the powers at their command to ensure that no more ^{rice} than can reasonably be spared

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D. S. I.

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MEMORANDUM.

Local Situation as seen from Shanghai
since January 1, 1921.

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Presidency did not meet with the approval of a majority of the ex-M.P.s many of whom are leaving Canton for Shanghai.

There is little doubt that the Southern Party are desperately in want of money and since the Diplomatic Corps in Peking have refused to grant them a share of the Customs surplus, and, owing to Dr. Sun's exploiting of the two principal sources of revenue to wit the mint and the railways, both have ceased to work, so that there is not much prospect of the financial situation there being remedied. The Southern Army is declared to be formed largely of bandits and robbers, and taken altogether the inhabitants are believed to be tired of the continued unsettled state of the province and many believe that Dr. Sun will be forced to leave Canton eventually. Should this happen and the Southern Army be disbanded in consequence, some of the disbanded soldiers will no doubt come north and a resuscitation of armed robberies and crimes of violence may be expected in Shanghai.

The activities of Baron Ungern's Army in Northern Mongolia where, acting in conjunction with Mongols, the capital town, Urga, has been occupied, although directed against the Bolshevistic Far Eastern Republican Government, whose headquarters are at Chita, is causing much anxiety to the Central Government

who are being continually bombarded with telegram etc urging that the Russians be driven out of Mongolia. There appears now to be good prospect of the Central Government and the Mongolia Government settling their differences and the latter may then be able to recover the territory from Ungern's forces.

The drought in North China and rumours which have been current recently that some able soldiers and politicians are planning to restore the monarchy, together with Bolshevist activities all over the country all combine to increase the difficulties of the Central Government, and incidentally to upset business and cause unrest and unemployment in Shanghai. The Central Government is also very short of funds, though not to such an extent as their opponents in the South, and the strike of professors and educationalists in Peking is purely a result of not receiving their salaries and money for the expenses of the universities. The Central Government, however, although hard put to it to raise funds, appear to be desirous of falling in with the interests of business people as far as possible, as is exemplified by the cancellation of the suggested Customs surtax for famine relief on condition that an agreed sum was raised by voluntary contribution, and by the postponement of the suggested Stamp Duty in the foreign

Settlements.

There seems to be very little grounds for the rumour that an attempted restoration of the monarchy was contemplated and a well known Monarchist, who was believed to be taking part in the restoration, has privately given it as his opinion that the people of China are not yet sufficiently tired of the Republic to attempt to restore a monarchical form of government.

The anti-Japanese agitation has almost entirely disappeared owing, no doubt, to more recent important happenings and there is every prospect of the Shantung question being finally settled in a constitutional way.

After the victory of the Chili over the Anfu Party, a suggestion, the credit for conceiving which is given to General Wu Pao Fu (吳佩孚), was put forward for the summoning of a National Citizens' Convention to arrange for the establishment of democratic government in China and the restoration of internal peace. Opinions were divided as to the advisability of this course. Those favouring it argued that it would eliminate militarism and ensure popular rule, while those opposed claimed that the mass of the people are too ignorant of Republicanism to take any part in the Convention.

Eventually the National Citizens'

Convention Organization was formed to which several powerful societies and guilds became affiliated, but other local societies including the Students' Union opposed it with the result that although the first few meetings of the organization were very enthusiastic it has now become practically dormant.

The peacefulness or otherwise of this part of the country depends to a considerable extent on the maintenance of a plentiful supply of rice, and if the Central Government and local Chinese Authorities would use the powers at their command to ensure that no more rice than can reasonably be spared is exported there is not much fear of the various political intriguers being in a position to raise any serious disturbance at the present time.

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